The Report Committee for Andrea Chantal Holman
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An Exploration of Racial Identity, Perceived Racism, and Religious Orientation as Predictors of Cultural Mistrust in African Americans

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor: _____
Kevin Cokley

_____
Keisha Bentley

An Exploration of Racial Identity, Perceived Racism, and Religious Orientation as Predictors of Cultural Mistrust in African Americans

by

Andrea Chantal Holman, B.A.

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Abstract

An Exploration of Racial Identity, Perceived Racism, and Religious Orientation as Predictors of Cultural Mistrust in African Americans

Andrea Chantal Holman, M.A.

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Supervisor: Kevin Cokley

Centuries of overt and covert segregation, oppression and discrimination against persons of African ancestry in America by their white counterparts have conditioned this marginalized group to be mistrustful of their relations with white Americans. This response, known as cultural mistrust, significantly contributes to negative help-seeking attitudes and underutilization of mental health services because the majority of practitioners are white (Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Whaley, 2001). This report will use multiple regression statistical analysis to explore racial identity, perceived racism, and religious orientation as predictors of cultural mistrust to propose ways practitioners can increase African-American utilization of mental health services. Gender differences in cultural mistrust will also be explored.

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INTRODUCTION

African enslavement in America was a period of physical, emotional, and psychological abuse and misuse that continues to affect the experiences of persons of African descent. In the centuries to follow such an exploitive and degrading institution, African men and women struggled to obtain the rights to vote, read, and legally be considered fully human. Despite the significant political advancements that have occurred in favor of African Americans, there are still several aspects of the African American experience that have their origins in an unfortunate period of enslavement. One of the most prominent, yet overlooked consequences of such a longstanding history of racism is the tendency of African Americans to approach interpersonal relations with European Americans with hesitation and mistrust. This phenomenon is most commonly referred to as *cultural mistrust* (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Terrell, Taylor, Menzise, & Barrett, 2009), and is a critical component of the African American experience.

Grier and Cobbs (1968) were the first to explore the concept of cultural mistrust, which they originally termed *healthy cultural paranoia*. Over 40 years after the two black psychiatrists defined the term, researchers are just beginning to unearth its complexities and subtleties. Cultural mistrust can be most generally defined as "…the belief acquired by African Americans, due to past and ongoing mistreatment related to being a member of that ethnic group, that Whites cannot be trusted" (Terrell, Taylor, Menzise, & Barrett, 2009, p. 299). This definition effectively captures the essence of cultural mistrust, as it is an acquired response to negative events and is not necessarily

maladaptive (Bell & Tracey, 2006).

While cultural mistrust and cultural paranoia are terms intended to describe the same experience, many scholars are averse to the term *paranoia* because it bears pathological implications. Diagnosing the hesitation many Blacks feel in trusting Whites as a paranoia implies that this hesitation is irrational and based on a false belief. Furthermore, the term paranoia minimizes the effect of chattel slavery on the psychological well-being of black individuals in America (Asby, 1986; Whaley, 2001; Terrell, Taylor, Menzise, & Barrett, 2009). Contrary to this implication, cultural mistrust is an understandable and at times adaptive response to direct and indirect experiences in American society (Bronstein, 1986; Terrell, Taylor, Menzise, & Barrett, 2009). While there are still other scholars who believe that describing cultural paranoia as "healthy" eliminates any underlying assumption that this phenomenon is founded upon little more than personal delusions of persecution, the majority of contemporary research contends that cultural mistrust most appropriately describes this unique aspect of the African American experience (Whaley, 2001; Terrell, Taylor, Menzise & Barrett, 2009).

It should be noted that the aforementioned negative experiences are not uniform or overarching for all persons of African descent in America; in fact, there is much variability in the maltreatment and discrimination encountered by African Americans. As a result, the level of mistrust African Americans hold toward European Americans also varies (Terrell, Taylor, Menzise, & Barrett, 2009).

Along with the variability of individual differences comes variability in constructs studied along with cultural mistrust. In the 45 years since its origination as a psychological concept, researchers have identified racial identity, perceived racism, counselor preference, help-seeking attitudes and intelligence testing as correlates to and/or predictors of cultural mistrust (Whaley, 2001). Racial identity is one of the most researched correlates with cultural mistrust. This construct refers to the meaning one ascribes to his/her race (Helms, 1990). Perceived racism, or the belief that one is currently experiencing a racist event and/or encountering a racist individual, has also been explored in regard to cultural mistrust (Utsey, 1998).

Most of this existing literature explores the relationship between cultural mistrust and mental health. This relationship is psychologically significant and undeniable, as it is well documented that cultural mistrust is negatively correlated with help-seeking attitudes among African Americans (Helms and Parham, 1981; Whaley, 2001; Townes, Chavez-Korrell & Cunningham, 2009). Furthermore, non-ethnic minorities have historically dominated the field of psychology and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future (Parham & Helms, 1981). This fact, coupled with the fact that African Americans are overrepresented in misdiagnosis and involuntary hospitalizations (Lindsey & Paul, 1989) make exploring cultural mistrust a necessity for psychologists (Whaley, 2001).

While there is no literature exploring the relationship between religiosity and cultural mistrust, there is much research regarding religion and prejudice levels (Hood,

Hunsberger, & Gorusch, 2003). Overwhelmingly, research on religious motivation and prejudice involves European American participants. The current research regarding religion and African Americans revolves around the connection between religiosity and psychological well-being, as well as the uniqueness and utility of the Black church (McRae, Thompson, Delores & Cooper, 1999; Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger & Gorusch, 2003; Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004). Because several studies show a negative relationship between religiosity and prejudice levels and the Black church is a well-established and prevalent aspect of the African American experience, the relationship between religiosity and cultural mistrust is one that warrants exploration.

While several studies exist in which cultural mistrust is used as a predictor for help-seeking attitudes and counselor preference, no study to date has explored the possible predictors for cultural mistrust. This report will review the literature on cultural mistrust and its relationship with racial identity, perceived racism and religious orientation. In addition, a study will be proposed to explore these constructs as possible predictors for cultural mistrust in African Americans, as well as provide some of the first research surrounding the relationship between religiosity and cultural mistrust. Predicting this phenomenon will not only reveal the factors contributing to one of the most significant barriers for African Americans seeking psychological services, but will present possible aspects of identity that may be able to provide an avenue though which African Americans high in cultural mistrust can build an effective working relationship with a white therapist, thus creating a way in which African Americans can take greater

advantage of psychological services offered predominately by individuals that they may otherwise not trust.

INTEGRATIVE ANALYSIS

CULTURAL MISTRUST

Defining cultural mistrust. Cultural mistrust was only recently validated as a unique phenomenon in the last four decades. Typically, the term *mistrust* refers to an individual occurrence that bears certain implications for the dynamics of a personal relationship. According to the standard American definition, to be mistrustful is to "regard without trust or confidence" (Webster Dictionary, 2010). While this may capture mistrust on an individual level, cultural mistrust also involves societal and institutional incidences of discrimination and racial trauma.

Cultural mistrust and the African American experience. Cultural mistrust has been studied almost exclusively in African Americans; while other racial/ethnic groups may experience this phenomenon, it is one that has been explored in the context of the psychology of the African American experience. For many African Americans, cultural mistrust appears to permeate most aspects of psychological functioning. High cultural mistrust was positively correlated with anti-social behavior (Biafora et. al, 1993), lower IQ test performance (Terrell & Terrell, 1983), and a lack of knowledge of AIDS transmission (Klonoff & Landrine, 1997). These findings imply that cultural mistrust may be maladaptive in the context of education and interpersonal interaction, but these correlations are more complex than they initially appear. Whaley and Smyer conducted a study in 1998 that effectively captures this complexity. Whaley and Smyer explored the

relationship between cultural mistrust and high school dropouts and found that high levels of cultural mistrust were positively correlated with dropping out of high school. At closer examination, the researchers also found that the cultural mistrust levels of these high school dropouts was also positively associated with global self-esteem; this suggests that the decision to leave school may have been more influenced by environmental conditions than personal beliefs of inadequacy. Whaley and Smyer then concluded that, "[i]n some instances, the apparent negative outcomes associated with high levels of cultural mistrust may result from rational decisions instead of irrational fears" (Whaley, 2001, p. 557). More simply stated, the negative relationship that cultural mistrust has with these variables speaks not to pathology but to a conditioned response to a culture of oppression and discrimination.

Cultural mistrust and mental health. While there has been a considerable amount of research on cultural mistrust, the majority of studies conducted have centered around its effect on mental health (Whaley, 2001). Researchers have studied the effect of cultural mistrust on help-seeking attitudes and counselor preference with ethnic minorities, specifically African Americans. It appears that the cultural mistrust experienced in broader society also affects the therapeutic relationship. Studies have also found that high cultural mistrust is positively associated with preference for a black counselor (Townes, Darryl & Chavez-Korrell & Cunningham, 2009). Research suggests that a negative relationship exists between levels of cultural mistrust and positive attitudes toward mental health services (Terrell & Terrell, 1984, Whaley, 2001). Individuals high

in cultural mistrust are assigned a white counselor have lower expectations for counseling (Watkins, Terrell & Terrell, 1988). Whaley's meta-analysis in 2001 of cultural mistrust literature suggests that this decrease in expectation may occur because African American individuals may view their white counselor as representative, or the embodiment of, the racism and oppression they encounter in society. This association may result in an unwillingness to self-disclose and a weakened therapeutic alliance, thereby decreasing the effectiveness of therapy and the chance that a client may return for future therapy sessions.

The issues cultural mistrust pose for the therapeutic alliance become more complex when one considers the empirical evidence that suggests that matching a client and therapist based merely on race is only minimally effective (Atkinson, 1983; Sue, 1988). The simple act of engaging in therapy with someone of one's racial group is not enough to quail issues of cultural mistrust, because race and cultural are not one in the same for many black Americans. In fact, in 1984, Terrell and Terrell found that African Americans high in cultural mistrust can also be mistrustful of racially similar therapists, because they may have different cultural experiences.

Measuring cultural mistrust. Cultural mistrust is not a solid or overarching phenomenon; a simple diagnostic survey will not suffice when measuring this construct. Levels of cultural mistrust are a function of individual experiences in American society (Grier & Cobbs, 1968) and therefore require a measurement tool that effectively captures different

and varying cultural experiences. The most popular measure with which most scholars measure cultural mistrust is the Cultural Mistrust Inventory, as developed in 1981 by Terrell and Terrell. The measure is effective because it explores cultural mistrust in four main domains, thus capturing the major avenues through which African American individuals will interact with European Americans.

Historically, the fact that cultural mistrust is an individual differences variable caused most researchers to employ it as an independent variable, or a predictor for another construct, such as help-seeking attitudes or counselor race preference. While this has been effective in increasing knowledge and awareness of cultural mistrust as a noteworthy construct, a mere awareness of the fact that cultural mistrust is an underlying cause of the underutilization of mental health services by African Americans (Whaley, 2001) does not appear to suffice in resolving this issue. It is necessary to explore the factors that contribute to cultural mistrust in order to bring awareness to over 98% percent of psychiatrists and psychologists who are not of African ancestry and will likely be providing services to African Americans with some level of mistrust (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001). Moreover, understanding potential predictors of cultural mistrust may also allow psychologists to adapt their therapeutic approach to African American clients, thus increasing the utilization and overall mental health state of black men and women in America.

RACIAL IDENTITY

Defining Racial Identity. It is well known and apparent that most individuals possess multiple identities; a black female, for example, possesses an identity as both a female and as a member of the black race. One may place varying levels of importance of each identity, such as his/her racial group. Janet Helms effectively captured the concept of racial identity as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (1990, p.3). Helms' definition is useful because it defines racial identity as being based on both a group identity and individual sense or perception. This definition correctly implies that racial identity varies in meaning and importance for each individual. The Nigresence theory effectively explained this complex construct, particularly as it relates to African Americans.

Nigresence Theory of Racial Identity. At the core of the Nigresence theory is the concept of black self-concept and the theory that it involves a personal identity component (PI) and a social identity dimension, or a reference group orientation (RGO). Personal identity addresses certain aspects of universal human behavior (i.e. depression, happiness, compassion) and is thought to be fundamental in personality. While personal identity is culture specific, reference group orientation involves the lifestyles, group membership and worldviews that influence and stimulate the aspects of personal identity (Cross, 1990). Nigresence theory focuses on RGO because black racial identity is essentially the way in which black individuals perceive themselves as social beings rather than

individual people. Along with these core ideas is also the idea that black racial identity is comprised of developmental stages. In 1971, William Cross proposed this theory of racial identity development, and the model has developed into one of the most critical focus points in the psychology of the African American experience. His original model was critiqued and updated in the start of the 21st century (Vandiver et. al., 2000; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001), but still maintains its original assertion that racial identity is developed over time and through different stages. Nigresence, or the process through which one becomes black (Cross, 1990), is comprised of three overall stages that each have their own sub stages. Each stage includes reference to both the PI and RGO aspects of black self-concept (Cross, 1990).

The first stage in racial identity development according to the Nigresence model is the *pre-encounter* stage. Individuals in this stage of development are either ignorant or disinterested in African American culture. Those in a *pre-encounter assimilation* stage show a preference for being American over a preference for being African; these individuals are not necessarily "anti-black", but have little interest in developing a black racial identity. *Pre-encounter miseducation* involves adopting inaccurate views and stereotypes about black men and women as a result of miseduation and *Pre-encounter self-hatred* is a stage in which individuals hold negative views about themselves as a black American.

The *immersion-emersion* stage is a period of intellectual and cultural awakening. During this period, individuals begin to learn more about their cultural background and heritage and become immersed in everything black. This stage is noted as the first in the journey toward a black identity (Vandiver et. al., 2001). The *immersion-emersion anti-white* stage is a consequence of immersion, because individuals will become resentful and averse to white culture after learning about a history of oppression and discrimination for persons of African descent in America.

The final stage in racial identity development is *internalization.* Individuals who reach the *Internalization Afrocentricity* stage have the ability to move past hatred toward European Americans while still embracing their African American culture. A healing has taken place and they are not resentful toward whites and still recognize the importance of their black racial identity. The *Internalization Multiculturalist* stage involves black self-acceptance as well. While being black is a salient aspect of the self-concept of individuals in this stage, they also maintain at least two other identities to which they give equal status, such as sexual orientation or religion (Cross, 1990). Present in this stage, unlike the previous stage, is *bridging*, or "…making connections with other groups, organization, and individuals who constitute the larger non-Black world…the initial focus of bridging may be white society, white organizations, and the reestablishment of white friendships" (Cross, 1991, p. 218). This stage represents a balance between one's appreciation and embrace of black culture and a respect of other groups in America.

Racial Identity and mental health. Historically, researchers have studied these stages and the way in which they correlate to certain aspects of mental health. The most widely researched topic in the psychology of African Americans is racial identity (Cokley & Helm, 2007) and it is most often explored in regard to its effects on the therapist-client relationship. Current empirical evidence suggests that racial identity attitudes significantly influence this relationship. Parham and Helms (1981) studied the relationship between racial identity attitudes and preference for a counselor's race. The results of this study indicate that a negative relationship exists between pre-encounter attitudes and preference for a black counselor; the stronger an individual's pre-encounter attitudes, the weaker his/her preferences for a black counselor and the stronger his/her preferences for a white counselor. A positive relationship between immersion-emersion attitudes and black counselor preference also emerged in this study. Individuals with internalization attitudes did not exhibit a significant preference for counselor race. The findings of this study, along with others (Ferguson, Leach, Nicholson, & Johnson, 2008; Townes, Chavez-Korell & Cunningham, 2009), seem to indicate that the beginning and ending stages of racial identity development are those with the greatest chance of establishing a therapeutic relationship between a white therapist and a black client. Because of the anti-white attitudes and resentment toward white individuals that can accompany immersion-emersion attitudes, individuals in this stage may not only prefer a black counselor, but may experience a greater level of cultural mistrust as well.

Racial Identity and Cultural Mistrust. Few studies have explored the relationship between racial identity and cultural mistrust. Because cultural mistrust is rarely used as a dependent variable, the majority of research involving these constructs employs them both as predictors of another dependent variable. A clear pattern has emerged when using these constructs as independent variables. Townes, Chavez-Korell, and Cunningham (2009) used racial identity, cultural mistrust and help-seeking attitudes to predict preference for a black counselor. Researchers found high cultural mistrust, low pre-encounter attitudes, and internalized Afrocentric attitudes to be positive predictors of preference for a black counselor. The relationship of racial identity and cultural mistrust on the therapist-counselor relationship is well documented, but the way in which these variables influence and correlate with each other has yet to be fully explored. Because racial identity involves self-concept and the way in which one's African American racial and cultural status is salient in interpersonal relationships, it is only fitting that in this report, a study is proposed in which racial identity is used to predict cultural mistrust. Not only are the constructs simultaneously present in many black individuals, but cultural mistrust directly involves the salience of one's black identity in a predominately white context. It is necessary then, when evaluating cultural mistrust, to evaluate the meaning and importance of one's black identity in America.

Measuring Racial Identity. The development of a scale to measure the racial identity attitudes outlined in the Nigresence theory began in 1981, with the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (Parham & Helms, 1981). At the turn of the 21st century, Cross and

Vandiver (2000) created the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) in a five-year time span, which is a more updated way in which to conceptualize and measure the attitudes at each stage of racial identity development. The CRIS is the most popular way in which researchers measure racial identity in African Americans, as it enables them to measure the attitudes outlined in the expanded Nigresence model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Between their popular use and its time consuming creation, the effectiveness and utility of both the CRIS and the Nigresence model cannot be overlooked.

PERCIEVED RACISM

Perceived Racism. An estimated 60% of African-American adults claim to have experienced racial discrimination at some time in their lives (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). The consequences of these perceived incidents of racism include: psychological distress, poor mental health, paranoia and higher psychiatric symptoms (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Combs, 1998; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Despite the evidence of these negative mental health consequences, the social and interpersonal consequences of racism have been overlooked and under researched in psychological literature. Because racial discrimination manifests in a myriad of overt and covert ways, the perception and consequential psychological distress one experiences as a result of perceived racism is more important to consider than the actual racism itself.

Perceived racism is often explored in the context of general discrimination. Discrimination manifests in multiple forms and stems from multiple aspects of identity;

for this reason, many psychologists choose to explore the construct of perceived discrimination. This construct, unlike perceived racism, encompasses many aspects of identity that include one's racial group (Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor, 2002). Given that racial/ethnic discrimination is a type of perceived discrimination, the empirical evidence regarding perceived discrimination will be reviewed in conjunction with that of perceived racism.

Racism as a source of chronic stress. Until the end of the 20th century, researchers have explored the issue of racism in regard to its effect on the psychological well-being of marginalized individuals. The turn of the century brought a new stream of research on this construct that investigated perceived racism through a psychological stress and coping paradigm created by Lazarus and Faulkman (1984). Outlaw (1993) was the first to conceptualize perceived racism through this model, in which he outlines three aspects of a racist encounter: Person-environment interaction, primary appraisal and secondary appraisal. According to Outlaw, the person-environment interaction is the alleged racist encounter with another individual. A primary appraisal is then made, in which the situation is perceived as harmful, threatening, or challenging. A secondary and final appraisal involves an inventory of available coping resources to use prior to responding to the situation. Outlaw's conceptualization of "race-related stress" generated a tangible way through which psychologists could measure the level of distress caused by racist events and the negative effects of such distress.

The amount of psychological distress and other detrimental aspects of perceived racism have been soundly empirically validated. Validating just the perception of being the victim of racial discrimination as detrimental to one's psychological well-being provided much legitimacy to the fight for racial equality and fair treatment for people of color in America, particularly African-Americans (Utsey, 1998). Despite this validation, researchers have yet to fully explore the causal factors involved in the perception of racist events. That is, researchers have confirmed the consequences of perceived racial discrimination and overlooked its causes (Sellers and Shelton, 2003). This is especially important when considering the evidence that suggests that the distress African-Americans experience as a result of interpreting an ambiguous situation as racist is higher and endures longer than distress that occurs as a result of overt racism (Bennett, Meritt, Edwards and Sollers, 2004). One of the more validated causes of perceived racial discrimination is the way one believes the public perceives his/her racial group. For example, African-Americans who have a low public regard (or believe that the public views African-Americans in a negative way) are more likely to perceive a social encounter as discriminatory than individuals with a high public regard, or a belief that other individuals in society have a positive view of African-Americans (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin & Lewis, 2006).

Perceived Racism and Racial Identity. One of the most popular hypotheses in existence is the influence of group identification on perceived racism. Crocker and Major (1989) were some of the first to assert that the more meaning one ascribes to his/her racial

identity, the higher the likelihood that they will appraise a subjective situation as racially discriminatory. This hypothesis is based on the idea that the more salient race is to one's worldview, the more he/she will perceive events in the world as relating to race, particularly as it relates to discrimination or oppression. Shelton and Sellers also conducted a quantitative study in 2003 in which they found that racial centrality, or the significance of one's racial identity, significantly predicted perceived racial discrimination.

A competing hypothesis states the converse; several studies that have explored sexual, gender, racial and religious discrimination assert that the more discrimination one experiences, the more they will interpret themselves to be connected to their marginalized group (Gurin, Gurin, Lao, & Beattie, 1969; Sanders Thompson, 1990; Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). This hypothesis is made more plausible by research that shows that the more an individual experiences an incident of racial prejudice, a feeling of belongingness arises because of their shared experience with other members of their racial group (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). It is clear, despite the opposing nature of these theories, that the relationship between racial identity and perceived racism cannot be overlooked, as there is likely a bidirectional and reinforcing relationship between these constructs (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999).

The relationship between racial identity and perceived racism has not been extensively explored with the Nigresence model. The research in existence regarding the relationship between these two variables refers to general group membership rather than a

particular stage of racial identity development. The lack of a definitive direction of the relationship between group membership and perceived racism may contribute to this lack of specificity.

Perceived Racism and Cultural Mistrust. The relationship between cultural mistrust and perceived racism is both strong and positive. This relationship is understandable when considering that the more an individual perceives individuals in their environment as racist, the less willing they will be to establish trust with individuals that are responsible for the majority of racial discriminatory acts (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey (1999) found that a positive relationship exists between attributions of prejudice and hostility toward the dominant racial group. In 2006, Benkert, Peters, Clark, and Keves-Foster conducted a study exploring the influence of cultural mistrust and perceived racism on the trust relationship between a health provider and his/her patient and the patient's satisfaction of care. The results of their study revealed a strong positive relationship between cultural mistrust and perceived racism. Furthermore, cultural mistrust moderated the relationship between perceived racism and satisfaction of care. Moreover, empirical evidence suggests that perceived racism is a positive predictor or cultural mistrust (Combs et. al, 1996; Benkert, Peters, Clark, & Keves-Foster, 2006).

Measuring Perceived Racism. The introduction of the concept of race-related stress allowed researchers to quantitatively measure perceived racism. Six notable measures exist with which to measures-perceived racism, all of which Utsey outlined in 1998. These measures include: The Racism Reaction Sale, (RRS), Index of Race-Related Stress

(IRRS), Racism and Life Experience Scale (RaLES), Schedule of Racist Events (SRE), and the Perceptions of Racism Scale (PoRS). Utsey reviewed each measure and concluded that the Perceived Racism scale is both advantageous and unique in its construction, as it measures the incidence of racist events and the coping skills used in response to them.

As mentioned previously, racism is made more complex and difficult to concretely identify and address because of its subjective interpretation. For most individuals, perception is reality, and individual beliefs and values determine that reality. What may be construed as prejudice or racist to one individual may appear entirely benign to another. The way in which beliefs and values determine our perception of racism warrants exploration when seeking to better understand the psychology of race and racism.

RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

Psychology of Religion. The acknowledgement of a spiritual realm or a higher power appears to be one of the most overarching elements of human existence. This acknowledgement transcends cultural, ethnic, and gender differences, as the majority of individuals around the world throughout history have attempted to understand their creation and the existence of an ultimate creator. Since the mid 20th century, psychologists have sought to explore the meaning behind organized religion and psychological effects of adhering to a certain set of organized rules and beliefs

concerning gods, spirits, human life and its purpose. The psychology underlying man and his personal gods is both complicated, provocative and continues to be a rich source of research in contemporary psychology.

Researching religion cannot be done without first identifying and defining the topics to be explored. The constructs of religion, spirituality, religiosity and religious orientation are often used interchangeably in research concerning religion. Historically, scholars have found difficulty in defining and separating these constructs, for they are directly related and oftentimes intertwined (Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger, & Gorsuch, 2003). For this report, these constructs will be distinguished so as to more discretely measure one's motivation to engage in religious activities. Unlike religion and religious orientation, spirituality is subjective and difficult to measure. While religion is centered upon certain behaviors and rituals that emerge from an organized system or institution, spirituality is a subjective, emotionally based phenomenon. Those who identify as spiritual are more concerned with finding purpose and understanding a fluid spiritual world than organizing their beliefs according to a particular institution. More simply stated, religion is an institution that facilitates the spiritual journey and quest for closeness to God and personal meaning of many individuals (Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger & Gorsuch, 2003). While many who identify as religious are also spiritual, spiritual individuals are often not religious. Religious orientation involves the underlying motive and rationale for engaging in religious behaviors. It is complex and multifaceted, as it can involve both spiritual and dogmatic components.

The African American community has higher frequency of church attendance and membership than any other subgroup in the United States (Fullilove & Fullilove, 1997). The attendance of church services and adoption of religiously based morals and values is a critical component in many African American lives. Spirituality is a central component of African American culture and influences many cultural norms in the black community (Thomas, 2001). The ubiquitous nature of religion in the African American community prevents religious engagement from being an adequate measure of its importance in an individual's life. It is necessary then, to investigate the motivation underlying religious engagement for African Americans in order to more fully understand the ways in which religion impacts other aspects of the African American experience in America.

Theories of Religious Orientation. Researchers have explored religious motivation for over 60 years, in large part due to the work of Allport and Ross. In 1950, Allport developed a notion he coined immature and mature religious orientation. In Allport and Ross' classic 1967 article that explored the relationship between religious motivation and prejudicial attitudes, these constructs changed in name and increased in notoriety. The researchers postulated that religious individuals are not uniform in their behavior and attitudes. These differences are theorized to occur based on the extent to which one internalizes and applies their religious teachings. The two major types of religious orientation are now known as *extrinsic* and *intrinsic religious orientation*.

According to Allport and Ross,

> "…the extrinsically motivated person *uses* his religion, whereas the intrinsically motivated *lives* his religion. Persons with [extrinsic] orientation are disposed to use religion for their own ends… [they] [turn] to God, but without turning away from the self. Persons with [intrinsic] orientation find their master motive in their religion… [h]aving embraced a creed, the individual endeavors to internalize it and follow it fully" (Allport and Ross, 1967, p. 434).

This conceptualization of religious motivation revolutionized the psychology of religion. The theory, more commonly referred to as the "I-E Theory" introduced a continuum upon which many researchers place individuals. Despite its popularity and longstanding presence in psychological literature, several 21st century researchers contend that the dichotomous essence and indistinct definitions and intentions of the I-E theory are problematic (Kirkpatrick and Hood, 1990). These critiques are noteworthy but do not minimize the utility and insight of this theory. This theory allows researchers to examine the meaning one attributes to his/her religion, rather than basing literature on assumptions of that meaning.

Religious Orientation and Measurement. Allport and Ross published the I-E scale in 1967. The initial version of the scale consisted of a series of questions intended to capture extrinsically and intrinsically oriented beliefs, values and behaviors. The simultaneous inquiry about beliefs and behaviors proved problematic, so Gorsuch and Venable (1983) removed the behavioral questions and made the scale applicable regardless of age level

with the "I-E Age Universal Scale" (Kirkpatrick and Hood, 1990). After a critical analysis of the scale (Kirkpatrick, 1988), they concluded that its questions did not merely assess two religious orientations; in fact, two subcategories emerged from the questions intended to assess extrinsic religious orientation. The first, "extrinsic social (Es)", refers to the social reasons for which individuals engage in religious behaviors, such as a strong support network in the church. The second, "extrinsic personal (Ep)", refers to the extrinsic motivators that are personal, such as moral guidance or comfort. In response to this assertion, Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) revised the scale to include these subgroups.

The I-E scale is now one of the most widely used scales in the psychology of religion and is as controversial as the theory upon which it is based. Critics of the scale contend that its questions do not fully assess religious orientation and assume that the participant is of a Christian denomination (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990). Others contend that one's religious motivation involves too many complexities to reduce it to two simple categories. The discrete nature of this scale proves theoretically problematic, but statistically convenient, especially when using analysis of variance (ANOVA) (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990).

Religion and Prejudice. The relationship between religion and prejudice is one of the most complex and inconclusive areas of research in psychology. While there is a significant amount of research that suggests that there is a negative relationship between religion and prejudice, the amount of research suggesting that the relationship is positive

is just as strong (Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger, & Gorsuch, 2003). A paradoxical relationship appears to exist between these constructs, as religion both fosters and eliminates prejudice (Allport & Ross, 1954). Overall, it appears that churchgoers are generally more prejudiced than non-church goers (Allport & Ross, 1967; Altemeyer, 2003). Church-goers are typically more conservative and their attitudes toward homosexuality, sexual expression, and mental illness are more prejudiced and constricted; this is particularly true for members of the traditional Black Church (Fullilove & Fullilove, 1997; Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger & Gorsuch, 2003). Allport and Ross' 1967 article was the first to directly address this issue in regard to religious orientation and surveyed 309 graduate students to do so. In their article, they administered the I-E Scale to participants and concluded that people with extrinsic religious orientation are more prejudiced than those with intrinsic religious orientation. Those with an indiscriminate pro religious orientation displayed the highest levels of prejudice. These findings, which have been replicated several times since this ground-breaking article (Gorsuch & Aleshire, 1974; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005), suggest that simply attending church will not reduce prejudice attitudes; internalizing and applying the messages presented at church (i.e. "Love one another"; "Treat others the way you as you would be treated") is the strongest predictor of low prejudicial attitudes.

The Role and Utility of the Black Church in the African-American Experience. The church is the second most important institution for African Americans, preceded only by family (Moore, 1991). Its critical role in the lives of African Americans has been present

since the institution of slavery. In those days, their God was many times the only thing that provided African slaves any solace against the physical and mental abuse and torture experienced at the hand of their slave masters. Negro spirituals also provided an avenue through which many slaves found freedom in the North. During the 1950's, the Black Church became the political voice for blacks in their quest for equality in a nation that embraced racial discrimination. Pastors and practitioners alike fought to secure civil rights for African Americans and used their faith as a source of hope and justification (Fullilove & Fullilove, 1997). Today, African Americans continue to use the music, sermons, and fellow congregation members as a way in which to cope with living in a predominately white society and as a way to refresh their religious beliefs and spiritual journeys.

The role of the Black Church as a therapeutic source should not be overlooked. The underutilization of mental health services may be due in part to the replacement of psychotherapy with prayer and counseling from pastors and through sermons (Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004). Mattis conducted a qualitative study in 2001 in which black females discussed the ways in which their involvement in their Christian churches effects their personal lives. Many women disclosed that they feel as if their relationship with their God both restores hope and offers guidance. Taylor, Chatters and Levin (2004) conducted focus groups that echo these findings, as well as provide data to suggest that many African Americans experience what can be conceptualized as extrinsic orientation, as many participants disclosed being motivated to attend church because of the social

support and moral guidance it offers. The results of this study also showed evidence of intrinsic religious orientation. For example, it is important for many Christian African-Americans to conduct themselves in a "Christ-like" manner, which includes treating everyone they encounter in a loving and respectful way. Individuals in these focus groups also disclosed other facets of religious commitment that represent intrinsic religious orientation, including praying consistently to commune with God and maintain their personal relationship with their Creator.

Additional functions of the Black church that have been empirically validated include: provider of a safe space for distressed individuals, source of moral guidance, advocate for the academic success of youth, consistent social support network, and source of validation for racist experiences in America (McRae, Thompson, & Cooper, 1999; Thomas, 2001). Prayer and encouraging gospel music also offer hope and joy to black men and women and help foster a closer and more intimate relationship with God (Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004). Overall, the majority of research suggests that for black Americans, religious orientation is as complex and individualistic as it is for other racial groups, but church and spirituality appear to be something that is often internalized and committed to in a different way than their white counterparts. Unlike many predominately white churches, the Black Church served as a source of perseverance and support through times of societal racism and inequality. While this may serve as a reason to be extrinsically motivated to pursue religion, it is also a reason to be intrinsically motivated, as a relationship with God and an application of scriptures and

commandments may be the most critical and useful source of meaning and hope that a member of a marginalized group has in the face of oppression.

African-Americans and Religious Orientation: Bridging the Gap. It is clear that a schism exists in regard to the research concerning religious orientation and research concerning African Americans and religion. While most research about religious orientation involves white fundamentalists or prejudice toward people of color in America, the research about the Black Church explores its role as a therapeutic and political agent in the black community. Little to no research exists that bridges the gap between white and black religious individuals.

The divide between these veins of research is also methodological. The majority of research concerning African-Americans and religion involves qualitative studies or theoretical proposals, while other explorations about the psychology of religion appear to be heavily quantitative, particularly research on religious orientation. Moreover, most research on the Black church surveys and reports its personal, cultural and societal roles. This is beneficial for African Americans and those of other races, as the process of what may seem natural or universal is highlighted and critiqued. Unfortunately, little to no research exists that critically examines the motivation of African Americans to participate in religious activities, or the degree to which African American individuals internalize and apply their religious beliefs. This vein of research is particularly worth exploring in a group in which religious engagement is a cultural norm and for which discrimination and oppression are also norms; African Americans have rationale for both intrinsic and

extrinsic motivation to remain members of the Black Church.

Connecting the veins of research between cultural mistrust and religious orientation among African-Americans is both novel and challenging. There is little research to date concerning religious orientation and African-Americans and even less concerning religion and cultural mistrust. It bears consideration, despite the lack of empirical research, that a similar relationship could exist between religious orientation and cultural mistrust that exists between religious orientation and ethnic prejudice. Generally speaking, prejudice can be conceptualized as a "preconceived notion" about a person based solely on race, sex, socioeconomic status, region of origin, etc. Cultural mistrust can be thought of as a form of conditioned prejudice that black Americans feel toward their black counterparts, as negative historical and life events have fostered preconceived ideas in the minds of many black Americans about their white counterparts that is based largely on their racial group. Given that association, it is possible that African Americans who are intrinsically religiously oriented may be lower in cultural mistrust because of their commitment to their religious faith and the tolerance for other racial groups that may result from that commitment. The possibility is strengthened by research that suggests that being a member of a Christian church helped black individuals respond in a more positive way to racist situations (McRae, Thompson & Cooper, 1999). Lower levels of prejudice and mistrust are critical because without hesitancy in interpersonal interactions, tolerance and trust are able to foster between individuals of different races. This is particularly applicable as it relates to the therapeutic dynamic. If a

client with intrinsic religious orientation possesses the commitment to his/her religious creeds enough to build a relationship with a white individual without guardedness or mistrust, it is possible that this willingness can also present itself in a therapeutic context.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The aforementioned literature makes it clear that cultural mistrust is a legitimate phenomenon and is a conditioned response to negative interactions with white Americans. The way in which cultural mistrust affects the lives of African Americans has also been substantiated, especially in regard to their interactions with mental health practitioners. Black Americans with high cultural mistrust are more likely to have negative help-seeking attitudes, prefer a black counselor, and terminate from therapy prematurely when they have a white counselor (Watkins & Terrell, 1988; Nickerson, Helms & Terrell, 1994). This is problematic when considering the overrepresentation of black individuals in mental health diagnosis. The gap between the overrepresentation and underutilization of black men and women in mental health services is one that warrants attention. There is considerable difficulty in addressing this issue, as cultural stigma and systematic racism serve as contributors to cultural mistrust (Terrell, Taylor, Menzise, & Barrett, 2009). The fact that the vast majority of mental health practitioners are white makes the mistrust black clients have for these individuals a notable issue, because a trusting therapeutic relationship is the most critical aspect in positive therapeutic outcomes (Benkert, Peters, Clark, & Keves-Foster, 2006). Moreover, high cultural mistrust is negatively correlated with psychological well-being (Bell & Tracey, 2006). If client trust is a crucial aspect of positive therapeutic outcomes, improving the therapeutic experience for African Americans should involve an exploration of ways in which to improve this trust and the psychological functioning of individuals in this racial group.

PROPOSED RESEARCH STUDY

The proposed research study will investigate three potential predictors of cultural mistrust in African Americans. These predictors include racial identity, perceived racism, and religious orientation. The proposed study will evaluate these constructs as potential predictors in order to bring awareness to the variables that contribute to high cultural mistrust. In addition, this study will explore which predictors are associated with low and moderate cultural mistrust in order to increase the number of African American clients who are able to engage in a cross-cultural therapeutic relationship, as this exemplifies the majority of therapeutic relationships in which African Americans engage.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Research Question 1: What are the significant predictors of cultural mistrust?

Hypothesis 1: It is expected that racial identity, perceived racism and religious orientation will be significant predictors of cultural mistrust.

Rationale: Certain stages of the Nigresence Model are, by definition, stages in which an individual experiences varying levels of tolerance of white individuals, as well as varying degrees of willingness to engage in interpersonal relationships with them (Cross, 1991). Perceived racism has a substantiated and positive relationship with cultural mistrust (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). Also, because cultural mistrust is a conditioned response to environmental interactions, it is likely that the level of racism perceived in

one's environment will successfully predict the extent to which he/she is conditioned to be mistrustful of the perpetrators of the racism. Finally, internalizing beliefs about unconditional love and a universal Creator may decrease one's tendency to treat cross-cultural interactions with hesitation and mistrust.

Research Question 2: What stages of the Nigresence model significantly predict cultural mistrust?

Hypothesis 2: It is expected that the pre-encounter stages and the internalization multiculturalist-inclusive (IMCI) stage will be negative predictors of cultural mistrust. It is expected that the Immersion/Emersion: Anti-White (IEAW) stage will be a positive predictor of cultural mistrust.

Rationale: Research suggests that individuals in the pre-encounter stages of assimilation, mis-education and self-hatred have a lower degree of interest and immersion in African American individuals and culture (Cross, 1991). As a result, these individuals may not experience a significant amount of mistrust toward a group of people that they have positive views toward and whose cultural group into which they attempt to assimilate. Also, individuals in the IMCI stage are hypothesized to have a low level of cultural mistrust because of the development of their ability to bridge. This ability, which is not present in other developmental stages, allows blacks to have a racially diverse set of relationships while simultaneously embracing their racial/ethnic identity. IEAW has been significantly correlated with negative help-seeking attitudes, preference for a black

counselor and involves resentment and aversion toward whites (Parham & Helms, 1981; Cross, 1991). It is likely that since individuals who are in the IEAW stage are immersed in black culture but have not yet developed the ability to bridge, they will be higher in cultural mistrust than individuals in other stages.

Research Question 3: Is there a relationship between religious orientation and stages of the Nigresence model?

Hypothesis 3a: It is expected that intrinsic religious orientation will be positively correlated with IMCI.

Rationale: Individuals who have reached the IMCI stage hold their race as a salient aspect of their identity, but also possess at least two other salient aspects of their identity (Cross, 1991). Given this fact and the strong presence of religion in African American culture (Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004), it is likely that the individuals who reach IMCI will hold their religious faith as a salient aspect of their identity. Those who do will likely be intrinsically oriented because it is individuals of this orientation, unlike extrinsic orientation, who value their religious faith enough to incorporate it into their lives as an aspect of their identity (Allport & Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989)

Hypothesis 3b: It is expected that intrinsic religious orientation will be positively correlated with IMCI.

Rationale: Individuals in the IEAW stage are known for embracing black culture and holistically rejecting anything they feel relates or supports whiteness. Many blacks with nationalist attitudes such as those present in this stage feel that religion is a method whites use to further degrade black and exalt whites, especially Christianity (Grier & Cobbs, 1968). They also contest that it was religion that is largely responsible for decades of oppression and eradication of black men and women. Individuals immersed in black literature and film will be aware of these ideas and will likely endorse them. A self-identified Christian in this stage will likely be extrinsically motivated to do so, as racial identity often supersedes religion for black nationalists (Grier & Cobbs, 1971).

Research Question 5: Are there gender differences in cultural mistrust?

Hypothesis 5: Women will report lower levels of cultural mistrust than males.

Rationale: African American women have reported lower levels of perceived racism and higher incidences of applying their religious beliefs to their daily lives (Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004; Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor, 2002). If these are indeed predictors of low cultural mistrust, women should average lower levels of the dependent variable.

Research Question 6: Are there gender differences in religious orientation?

Hypothesis 6: Women will report higher levels of intrinsic religious orientation than males.

Rationale: Qualitative and quantitative analyses indicate that African American women who identify as religious have higher levels of church attendance and internalization of their religious beliefs than African American men (Taylor, Chatters, & Levin, 2004; Mattis, 2002). This literature supports the idea that African American women will report higher levels of living their faith than their male counterparts.

METHOD

Participants

Participants will include undergraduate college students at The University of Texas at Austin from the Department of Educational Psychology subject pool. Other participants will be recruited from educational psychology courses Psychology of Race and Racism and Psychology of the African-American Experience. Participants will also be recruited from African-American organizations such as African-American Culture Committee and Black Student Alliance. Three strata will be used for selection of participants: students who racially identify as African-American/Black, students who self-identify as Christian, and an appropriate proportion of students who identify as male or female. Self-identified Christians will be used because over 80% of African-Americans ascribe to the Christian-based denomination and Protestant Christianity is the foundation of the Black church experience (Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004).

Measures

Demographic Information. Participants will provide information regarding their age, sex, racial and ethnic classification, year in school and church attendance. If participants disclose that they do attend a church, they will also be asked to provide their frequency of attendance.

Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). The Cross Racial Identity Scale is a measure used to assess various levels of racial identity development that correspond with Cross' Nigresence model, developed in 1991. The CRIS is comprised of 40 items that are distributed across six subscales: Pre-Encounter Assimilation (PA), Pre-Encounter Miseducation (PM), Pre-encounter Self-Hatred (PSH), Immersion-Emmerision Anti-White (IEAW), Internalization Afrocentricity (IA), and Internalization Multiculturalist-Inclusive (IMCI). Each subscale represents a particular phase in racial identity development and will be scored as such. Participants will answer each item by rating it on a seven-point Likert scale. Higher scores indicate higher levels of a particular racial identity attitude. Sample questions include, "I think of myself primarily as an American and seldom as a member of a racial group", and "I hate white people." The CRIS has a firmly established reliability and internal consistency. Vandiver et al. (2000) reported Cronbach's Alpha levels above .78 for each of the CRIS subscales; Vandiver's subsequent studies in 2001 resulted in reliability coefficients for the subscales above .70. Vandiver et al. also reported concurrent validity of the CRIS through correlations to the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity and discriminant validity through correlations to the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding.

Perceived Racism Scale (PRS). The Perceived Racism Scale is a 51-item measure designed to capture African-American individuals' perceptions of White racism

(McNeilly et al, 1996). This measure explores several domains in which individuals can be exposed to perceived racism, including individual, cultural, and behavioral. Not only are perceptions of racism assessed through this measure, but coping skills and emotional responses to perceived racist actions are assessed as well, providing a more holistic psychometric tool when exploring perceived racism. The PRS is separated into three main sections. The first section involves four main domains in which perceived racism can occur: in an employment setting, in an academic setting, in a public realm, and through racist statements (e.g "I have had to make my speech and posture appear passive when dealing with Whites."). The second section of the PRS gives participants the opportunity to disclose the extent to which they felt angry, frustrated, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed or strengthed when they encountered a racist experience on a five point Likert scale (1 = not at all; 5 = extremely). The final section allows participants to indicate the coping strategy they employed when encountering White racism. The PRS is a reliable measure, as evidenced by Cronbach's alpha levels of .93, .95, and .91 on each of its subscales respectively. Furthermore, the scale also demonstrates internal consistency levels between .87-.95 (Utsey, 1998; Combs et al., 2006). McNeilly et. al (1996) confirmed the PRS' convergent, concurrent and discriminant validity with the CMI, Reactions to Racism Scale and Beck Depression Inventory.

Religious Orientation Scale—Revised (ROS-R). Richard Allport and Michael Ross initially developed the Religious Orientation Scale, also known as the "I-E Scale", in 1971 and it quickly became one of the most popular instruments in the psychological

study of religion. The purpose of this measure is to solidify the source of motivation for an individual's religiosity. While the scale initially pinpointed intrinsic (I) or extrinsic (E) religious motivation, Allport and Ross eventually revised their scale to include four different levels on this spectrum of motivation: "consistently I" (intrinsically motivated), "consistently E" (extrinsically motivated), "indiscriminately pro" (endorsement of both I and E items) and "indiscriminately anti" (little to no endorsement of I and E items). In 1989, Gorsuch and McPherson revised certain items on the scale to reflect different aspects of extrinsic motivation (i.e. motivation due to social relationships and/or personal benefits), originally outlined by Kirkpatrick (1988). The revised extrinsic scale separates extrinsic motives for investing in religion as personal or social. This measure is comprised of eight intrinsic items, three personal extrinsic items and three social extrinsic items. Participants rate each question on a nine-point Likert scale (e.g "My whole approach to life is based on my religion."). The revised intrinsic and extrinsic subscales are just as reliable as the traditional I-E scale, with reliability coefficients of .83 and .65 respectively. Finally, factor analysis supported the validity and usefulness of the separate intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions (Gorsuch and McPherson, 1989).

Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI). The CMI will be used to assess participants' level of cultural mistrust. The measure, comprised of 48 items scored on a seven-point Likert scale, is the most widely used instrument in psychological research to measure cultural mistrust (Terrell and Terrell, 1981; Whaley, 2001). The CMI-R assesses cultural mistrust in four domains: educational, political/legal, work/business, and

interpersonal/social. Sample questions include, "It is best for Blacks to be on their guard when among Whites" and "A Black person can usually his or her White co-workers." Higher scores on this measure indicate higher levels of cultural mistrust. This instrument demonstrates adequate internal consistency and reliability. Internal consistency levels range from .86 to .9 and test-retest reliability has been estimated at .86. (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Combs et al., 2006). A quantitative meta-analysis on cultural mistrust conducted by Whaley in 2001 indicated that the CMI is indeed a valid measure of cultural mistrust (Combs et. al, 2001).

Procedure

This study will comply with the standards and procedures outlined with the conduct of research with human subjects and will received approval from the Institutional Review Board at The University of Texas at Austin. Qualified students will complete the CRIS, PRS, and ROS online through a secure website accessed only with university identification. The measures will only be available for completion until a satisfactory number of participants complete them.

DATA ANALYSIS AND EXPECTED RESULTS

Before completing any statistical analyses, the assumptions for using ANOVA will be checked. These assumptions include normal distribution of the dependent variable, homogeneity of variance, and independent observations of participants. This assures that the analysis is appropriate to conduct on the set of data acquired. Descriptive statistics will be computed to ensure normality. These statistics include means, standard deviations, ranges and outliers for all independent and dependent measures. Outliers that more than three standard deviations away from the mean will be removed from the data set to protect against falsified data.

Preliminary Analysis-Power

Statistical analysis software G-POWER, version 3.1, was used to conduct an a priori power analysis. According to these tests, 172 participants will be needed in order to have a medium effect size of .15, a power level of .90, and to reject the null hypothesis (if it is false) with an alpha level of .05. This indicates that we can reject the null hypothesis with 95% confidence. For this reason, 180 participants will be recruited to ensure that the desired level of power is reached.

Expected Results

Research Question 1: What are the significant predictors of cultural mistrust?

Hypothesis 1: It is expected that racial identity, perceived racism and religious orientation will be significant predictors of cultural mistrust.

In order to assess this research question, a linear multiple regression will be conducted. A multiple regression involves evaluating the unique contributions of more than one independent variable, or predictor, on the variation of a dependent, or outcome variable (Heppner, Wampold, & Kivlighan, 2008). For this study, each stage on the CRIS and each subscale of the ROS-R will be entered as a separate independent variable, resulting in 10 predictor variables and one outcome variable. A significance test of the overall regression model will be conducted, using the F value of the model. Standardized regression coefficients, or beta weights, will be used to evaluate which independent variable served as the greatest predictor of cultural mistrust because different scales and units were used to measure each of the independent variables. The p-value associated with beta weighs indicates statistical significance. The strongest predictor is that which has the highest beta weight. A positive or negative beta value will indicate which predictors have a positive or negative relationship with cultural mistrust. It is expected that racial identity, perceived racism, and religious orientation will have significant beta weights. R^2 values will be evaluated to determine the amount of variance in the dependent variable that can be contributed to the independent variables. Adjusted R^2

levels will also be reviewed for a more conservative analysis of the data collected.

Research Question 2: What stages of the Nigresence model significantly predict cultural mistrust?

Hypothesis 2: It is expected that the pre-encounter stages and the internalization multiculturalist-inclusive (IMCI) stage will negatively predict cultural mistrust. It is expected that the Immersion/Emersion: Anti-White (IEAW) stage will positively predict cultural mistrust.

The aforementioned multiple regression analysis will provide insight as to which stages of the Nigresence model significantly predict cultural mistrust. Researchers will determine statistical significance by evaluating whether or not the p-value associated with the beta weight at each stage is significant at the .05 level. Positive or negative relationships to cultural mistrust will also be evaluated using beta weight values. The racial identity stage with the highest beta weight value will be the strongest predictor in the stage for cultural mistrust. It is expected that the IEAW stage will have the highest beta weight.

Research Question 3: Is there a relationship between religious orientation and stages of the Nigresence model?

Hypothesis 3a: It is expected that intrinsic religious orientation will be positively correlated with IMCI.

A correlation matrix, or an output of the way in which each variable tested correlates to every other variable in the study, will be used to assess the relationship between these variables. Researchers will evaluate the correlations between the internalization multiculturalist-inclusive stage and each subscale of religious orientation. A positive or negative correlation coefficient corresponds with the direction of the relationship in existence; negative relationships will have negative coefficients, and positive relationships will have positive coefficients. It is expected that the correlation between IMCI and intrinsic religious orientation will be significant at the .05 level, evidence of a significant relationship between these variables.

Hypothesis 3b: It is expected that extrinsic religious orientation will be positively correlated with IEAW.

The aforementioned correlation matrix will be used to answer this research question as well. An evaluation of the correlations between each subscale of religious orientation and IEAW will be used to assess the positive or negative relationship between these variables. It is expected that the correlation between IEAW and extrinsic religious orientation will be significantly correlated.

Research Question 5: Are there gender differences in cultural mistrust?

Hypothesis 5: Women will report lower levels of cultural mistrust than males.

To determine gender differences in cultural mistrust involves comparing means between two organismic groups; for this reason, a t-test for independent means will be conducted in order to compare the overall means of cultural mistrust for each gender. Prior to interpreting the results of this test, it will be certified that the Levene's Test for Equality of Variances is not significant, as this will indicate a violation of assumptions in conducting this analysis. A two-tailed test of significance will be conducted, and it is expected that there will be significant differences in the levels of cultural mistrust for males and females and men will have a significantly higher level of cultural mistrust overall.

Research Question 6: Are there gender differences in religious orientation?

Hypothesis 6: Women will report higher levels of intrinsic religious orientation than males.

A t-test for independent means will also be conducted in order to detect gender differences in religious orientation. A t-test will be conducted for each type of religious orientation and .05 will again be used to indicate statistical significance. It is expected that significant differences will exist in levels of intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientation for males and females and females will have a significantly higher level overall.

DISCUSSION

The expected results of this study provide a necessary examination of the factors that lead to varying levels of cultural mistrust in African Americans. For example, it is hypothesized that individuals with intrinsic religious orientation will be lower in cultural mistrust. The expected results that support this hypothesis are consistent with research that suggests that individuals with intrinsic religious orientation are more tolerant and willing to engage in relationships with individuals of different races and cultures, as they hold the belief that all people are equally created by a universal God (Gorsuch & Aleshire, 1974). This relationship provides an understandable rationale for the expected relationship between the IMCI racial identity stage and intrinsic religious orientation. Individuals who adhere to Christian beliefs of spiritual brotherhood and unconditional love who are lower in cultural mistrust will likely be the individuals who bridge into cross-cultural relationships. This relationship is also understandable given that individuals in the IMCI stage are able to hold their religion and their race as salient aspects of their identity, hence they may not feel as if an interracial relationship poses a threat to their racial identity. This is a notable finding because individuals in this stage who are intrinsically religiously motivated may be more likely to foster a trusting relationship with a white therapist than individuals who are currently in the IEAW stage and find little worth in relationships with white individuals. Perceived racism as a significant predictor is also notable because it legitimizes the idea that cultural mistrust is a conditioned response based on negative racist events in society. This relationship also

explains the expected negative relationship between IEAW attitudes and cultural mistrust. The more an individual learns about the negative treatment of his/her racial group, the more hesitant they will be to trust individuals in the perpetrating group.

Based on the other expected results regarding gender differences in religious orientation and cultural mistrust, the implications that these results pose for therapeutic services may be more applicable for African American women than for their male counterparts. This result is also consistent with previous research about African American women that states their higher rates of church attendance and internalization of religious beliefs (Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004). It is also noted that African American women use their religion as therapeutic source. As a result, the difficulty in therapeutically treating some black women may lie in their resistance to therapy as a whole, not their cultural mistrust of white therapists.

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The proposed study aims to identify three predictors of cultural mistrust. While each predictor warranted attention and exploration in the context of cultural mistrust, the employment of multiple regression as the statistical methodology means that the information that will be acquired will be based on correlations, thus causal inferences cannot be made. The nature of the dependent variable does warrant some limitations. Because cultural mistrust is an individual difference variable that is essentially a conditioned response, it is difficult to determine discrete factors that will influence most African Americans when the essence of cultural mistrust is contingent upon individual experiences. Furthermore, this study will be conducted at a predominately white university in the southern region of the United States. The fact that most participants in the study will have likely resided in the south (an area known for racism and discrimination in America) for most of their lives may influence the responses of the participants. In future research, a sample collected in various regions of the United States would eliminate this issue. This study was also conducted on a self-identified Christian sample of African Americans, which limits the variety in responses researchers acquired regarding religious orientation and impacts external validity and generalizability to non-Christian and non-religious African Americans.

In future research, it would be worthwhile to explore these variables with a diverse sample of religions and denominations. Because cultural mistrust alludes to the

cultural differences between white and black individuals in the United States, exploring differences in the extent to which African Americans adopt and assimilate to mainstream white culture would be worthwhile. This exploration could involve using acculturation as an added predictor of cultural mistrust. Finally, although this study explored the way the religious orientation of African Americans influences their own cultural mistrust, the way in which the religious orientation of a white counselor influences cultural mistrust should also be explored, as it would likely influence the pre-judgment a religious African American has for a white counselor.

Despite these limitations, the novelty and necessity of a study of this kind is clear. While there is little to no research on the predictors of cultural research, it is critical that researchers move beyond studies that simply bring awareness to the mistrust blacks have for white mental health practitioners. The limited amount of African Americans in helping professions such as psychotherapy increases the necessity of understanding the catalysts for cultural mistrust and more importantly, ways in which European American psychologists and social workers can understand and work around a legitimate response to a lifetime of racism and prejudice. This understanding can not only aid in brokering trust between a client and practitioner, but increase the number of mentally ill African Americans who need help but will not and cannot find it.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CROSS RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE

CROSS RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. **Base your responses on your opinion at the present time.** To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1 Strongly Disagree	**2** Disagree	**3** Somewh at Disagree	**4** Neither Agree nor Disagree	**5** Somewh at Agree	**6** Agree	**7** Strongly Agree

	S D						**S A**
1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Too many Blacks "glamorize" the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don't involve crime.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

perspective.							
8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be "American," and not African American.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. White people should be destroyed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to m	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. I hate White people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX B: PERCEIVED RACISM SCALE

Section I

Instructions – Please Read

Please circle the number which corresponds to how often you experience each event. Please circle only one number for question "A" and one number for question "B" for each ite. For example, if you felt, over the past year that you were assigned jobs no one else wanted, on average "Several times a month," you'd circle number "3" next to item IA. If you felt, over your lifetime you were assigned jobs no one else wanted, on average "Several times a year,", you would circle number "2" next to item IB.

A. Racism on the job

(If you have never been employed, please skip this section and go to page 2, question number 11, section B). (Questions 1-43 are of the same format as question 1. To conserve space, only the actual test questions, without the options, will be presented for questions 2-43.)

0 – Not applicable
1 – Almost Never
2 – Several times a year
3 – Several times a month
4 – Several times a week
5 – Several times a day

1. Because I am Black, I'm assigned the jobs no one else wants to do.
   0 1 2 3 4 5

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
0 1 2 3 4 5
b. How often has this happened during my life?
0 1 2 3 4 5

2. At work when different opinions would be helpful, my opinion is not asked for because of my race.
3. I am treated with less dignity and respect than I would be if I were White.
4. I am watched more closely than other workers because of my race.
5. Racial jokes or harassment are directed at me at work.
6. Because I am Black, I feel as I have to work twice as hard.
7. Tasks that require intelligence are usually given to Whites, while Blacks get those that don't require much thought.
8. I am often ignored or not taken seriously by my boss because of my race.
9. Whites often assume I work in a lower status job than I do and treat me as such.
10. A White co-worker with less experience and qualifications got promoted before me.

B. Racism in Academic Settings

11. I have been made to feel uncomfortable in a classroom of White students.
12. Teachers and students assume I'm less intelligent because of my race.
13. Whites assume I gained admission to school only because of Affirmative Action-not based on my abilities or intelligence.
14. My graded assignments are judged more critically because I am Black.
15. Although I'm equally prepared and responsive, I am called on less than Whites in the class.
16. When I excel academically, I am looked upon as an exception to my race.
17. I find it difficult to trust White teachers and/or students.
18. My academic advancement has suffered because of my race.
19. Although I am equally intelligent, Whites often don't include me in study groups because I am Black.
20. I have been taught in school that Europeans are civilized and Africans are primitive.

C. Racism in the Public Realm

21. I have been called insulting names related to my race or skin color.
22. When I go shopping, I am often followed by White security guards or watched by White clerks.
23. I hear comments from Whites expressing surprise at my or other minority

individuals' intelligence or industriousness.

24. People "talk down" to me because I am Black.
25. I have been refused rental housing which was then later rented to Whites of similar standing (e.g., comparable family income).
26. I know of people who have gotten into trouble (gotten hurt, beaten up, shot) by Whites (individuals, gangs, police, White hate groups).
27. I have difficulty getting a loan because I am Black.
28. I am followed, stopped or arrested by White police more than others because of my race.
29. I have had to make my speech and posture appear passive when dealing with Whites.
30. Waiters and waitresses ignore me and serve Whites first.
31. White males talk about not desiring Black women for "serious" relationship versus those with White women.
32. My house has been vandalized because of my race.
33. I have had to allow Whites to obtain the best seats in public places.
34. I have been denied hospitalization or medical care because of my race.
35. I have known Black men who have suffered negative consequences for talking to White women (being hurt or killed).
36. I have encountered legal restrictions against Blacks. Please circle each one that applies: housing, marriage, jobs, use of public facilities.

D. Responses to Racist Situations

37. "Over the past few years, Black have gotten more economic and educational breaks than they deserve."
38. "Blacks should not push themselves into places where they are not wanted."
39. "Most Blacks are on welfare because they are too lazy to get a job."
40. "If a Black family moved in next door to me, I would seriously think about moving."
41. "Black people are generally not as smart as Whites."
42. "Black men have an animal like passion in bed."
43. "Some Blacks are so touchy about their rights that it is difficult to get along with them."

Section II

In answering the questions in this section, **please circle a response next to *each* emotion that best describes how you feel in that setting:**

1 – Not at all
3 – Moderately
5 – Extremely

44. When I experience **Racism on the Job,** I generally feel:

Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

45. When I experience **Racism in Academic Settings,** I generally feel:
46. When I experience **Racism in the Public Realm,** I generally feel:
47. When I hear **Racist Statements,** I generally feel:

Section III

In answering the questions in this section, **please mark the *behavior or behaviors* that best describe how you deal with racism in that setting:**

48. When I experience **Racism on the Job**, I generally deal with it by:
    A. Speaking up
    B. Accepting it
    C. Ignoring it
    D. Trying to change things
    E. Keeping it to myself
    F. Working harder to prove them wrong
    G. Praying
    H. Avoiding it
    I. Getting violent
    J. Forgetting it
    K. Other (please list)

49. When I experience **Racism in Academic Settings**, I generally deal with it by:
50. When I experience **Racism in the Public Realm**, I generally deal with it by:
51. When I hear **Racist Statements**, I generally deal with it by:

APPENDIX C: RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION SCALE-REVISED

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
1. I enjoy reading about my religion.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I go to church because it helps me to make friends.	1	2	3	4	5
3. It doesn't much matter what I believe so long as I am good.	1	2	3	4	5
4. It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have often had a strong sense of God's presence.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I pray mainly to gain relief and protection.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
8. What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Prayer is for peace and happiness.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I go to church mostly to spend time with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
12. My whole approach to life is based on my religion.	1	2	3	4	5

13. I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D: CULTURAL MIS TRUST INVENTORY

Directions

Enclosed are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about Blacks. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings about and attitudes expressed. Indicate the extent to which you agree by using the following scale:

1 – Strongly Disagree
2 – Disagree
3 – Slightly Disagree
4 – Neither Agree or Disagree
5 – Slightly Agree
6 - Agree
7 – Strongly Agree

The higher the number you choose for the statement, the more you agree with that statement. There are no right or wrong answers, only what is right for you. If in doubt, circle the number which seems most nearly to express your present feeling about the statement. Please answer all items.

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1. Whites are usually fair to all people regardless of race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. White teachers teach subjects so that is favors whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. White teachers are more likely to slant the subject matter to make Blacks look inferior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. White teachers deliberately ask Black students questions which are difficult so they will fail. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. There is no need for a Black person to work hard to get ahead financially because whites will take what you earn anyway. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Black citizens can rely on white lawyers to defend them to the best of his or her ability. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Black parents should teach their children not to trust white teachers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. White politicians will promise blacks a lot but deliver little. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. White policemen will slant a story to make Blacks appear guilty. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. White politicians usually can be relied on to keep the promises they make to Blacks. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Blacks should be suspicious of a white person who tries to be friendly. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Whether you should trust a person or not is based on his race. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Probably the biggest reason whites want to be friendly with Blacks is so they can take advantage of them. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. A Black person can usually trust his or her white co-workers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. If a white person is honest in dealing with Blacks it is because 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

of fear of being caught.

16. A Black person cannot trust a white judge to evaluate him or her fairly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. A Black person can feel comfortable making a deal with a white person simply by a handshake.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Whites deliberately pass laws designed to black the progress of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. There are some whites who are trustworthy enough to have as close friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Blacks should not have anything to do with whites since they cannot be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. It is best for Blacks to be on their guard when among whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Of all ethnic groups, whites are really the Indian-givers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. White friends are least likely to break their promise.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Blacks should be cautious about what they say in the presence of whites since whites will try to use it against them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Whites can rarely be counted on to do what they say.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Whites are usually honest with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

27. Whites are as trustworthy as members of any other ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Whites will say one thing and do another.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. White politicians will take advantage of Blacks every chance they get.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. When a white teachers asks a Black student a question, it is usually to get information which can be used against him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. White politicians can be relied on to exert an effort to apprehend those who commit crimes against Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. Black students can talk to a white teacher in confidence without fear that the teacher will use it against	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. Whites will usually keep their word.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. White policemen usually do not try to trick Blacks into admitting they committed a crime which they didn't.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. There is no need for Blacks to be more cautious with white businessmen than with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. There are some white businessmen are honest in business transactions with Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

37. White store owners, salesmen, and other white businessmen tend to cheat Blacks whenever they can.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. Since whites can't be trusted in business, the old saying "one in the hand is worth two in the bush" is a good policy to follow.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. Whites who establish businesses in Black communities do so only so that they can take advantage of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. Blacks have often been deceived by white politicians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. White politicians are equally honest with Blacks and whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. Blacks should not confide in whites because they will use it against you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. A Black person can loan money to a white person and feel confident that it will be repaid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. White businessmen usually will not try to cheat Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. White business executives will steal the ideas of their Black employees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. A promise from a white person is about as good as a three dollar bill.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

47. Blacks should be suspicious of advice given by white politicians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. If a Black student tries, he will get the grade he deserves from a white teacher.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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